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is to this day judged by the amount of the Koran and the number of prophetic traditions which he can quote, and the number of proverbs and maxims he can bring into the argument. It is not surprising then that out of some twenty learned religious men in the village, five of them are well known for their perfect memorization of the Koran, two for the memorization of many poetic verses of the Sheikhs of the Nakhshabandia sect, thus becoming the leaders of the order in the village, while two others are acknowledged as the most able reciters of verses and charms to ward off the 'evil eye'. From the linguistic point of view, for the speaker to claim that he knows a great deal about a particular thing, event, or person, is for him to assert that he 'memorizes it, or him, to the best of his memory'.[1]

The writer is inclined to assume that the Islamic culture, or at least as it is practised in the Silwa community, emphasizes and fosters rote learning, memory, and enumerative procedures. There is abundant evidence of this in the repetitive elements in greetings, in conversation, in the verses and choruses in folk singing, in the ritual of the mystical orders (zikr), in the need to know the ninety-nine attributes of God, and the thirty-three names of the Prophet, and in the traditional way of memorizing the Koran in the Kuttab. In this connection, MacDonald says, 'Moslem practice was to repeat aloud until the thing was learnt—that is, by heart. They had observed, too, that no special thought was called for, only continued repetition.'[2]

In stating that the village culture mainly stimulates memory as the most important cognitive process one does not necessarily imply that people in the village have good memories. This emphasis on memory could be related to what Bateson calls the eidos of a culture, meaning by it that a culture might have a bias for the standardization of the cognitive aspects of the personality of its participants expressed in their cultural behaviour.[3] One is tempted here to ask a similar question to that posed by Bateson himself as to what extent this bias for amassing knowledge is limited only to a small number of specialists. In attempting an answer, it must be remembered that the stimulation of a small number of specialists can react on the culture as a whole; they have set themselves up as the leaders of the village life both in religious and social matters. From this it is fairly justified to conclude, as Bateson did, that 'the individuals most affected by the stimulation of memory actually contribute very much more than their fellows to the elaboration and maintenance of the culture'.[4]

[1] The equivalent phrase to this in the colloquial language of the village is 'hafidanuh hifd', in classical Arabic 'ahfathuh hiftha'.

[2] MacDonald, *Aspects of Islam*, New York, 1911. The resort to rote learning has been the bane of education in modern schools. Criticisms of students' 'parrot-like' work are abundant in many of the official Government Reports. See E. Claparède, *Rapport Général Présenté au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique*, Cairo, 1909; F. O. Mann, *A Report on Certain Aspects of Egyptian Education*, Cairo, 1929; Ministry of Education, *Report on Secondary Education*, Cairo, 1935.

[3] Gregory Bateson, *Naven*, p. 220.

[4] Ibid., pp. 226–7.

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The writer is however aware that his surmise concerning the stimulation of memory in the village's culture is neither fully documented nor based on experimental data as was that of Nadel's experiments to ascertain the differences in cognitive processes between the school children of the two neighbouring tribes, the Yoruba and the Nupe.[1]

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Moreover, the writer cannot comment on the effect of such a cultivation of the habits of rote memory on the individual's character structure. That there is a relationship between the method of learning and the individual's attitude towards himself, and his interpretations of experience, is claimed by Bateson and Mead. They maintain that if the individual is brought up in habits of rote memory 'his character will be profoundly different from what would result from habits of learning by insight'.[2]

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It can also be shown than the interests and imagination of children are tied down to concrete things and events such as food, animals, ceremonies, farm work, and so forth. It was found that the majority of their responses to story completion, free drawings and in Rorschach testing were highly impregnated with concrete realism.[3] One cannot fail to notice that both

[1] Nadel, from his experiments with story recounting and responses to pictures on some children of those two tribes, concluded that a people possessing a highly developed realistic art and drama, and a rich, complicated, and rationalized religious system, is characterized in the field of psychological reaction by stress on rational elements, logical cohesion, and strongly pronounced meaning-oriented approach as to what is presented to them. On the other hand, a people whose culture lacks such art and drama and whose religious beliefs are centred round abstract and impersonal principles, are psychologically different in the sense that they are more detached and inconsequent in observation and memory, enumerative, more sensitive to spatial and temporal arrangement, stressing unity of situation and emotional tone rather than facts and meaning and rational consistency. 'A Field Experiment in Racial Psychology', in *British Journal of Psychology*, Vol. XXVIII, 1937-8, pp. 195-211.

R. H. Thouless, experimenting on the perception of twenty Indian students and a group of British students, concludes that the former group showed a significantly greater tendency towards 'phenomenal regression' to the real object than the latter group. For instance, in the case of the Indian students there was greater tendency for circular objects inclined to the observer to be drawn as wide ellipses, for parallel-sided objects with the sides receding from the observer to be represented as parallel, and for objects of the same real size at different distances to be drawn with very little difference in size. 'A Racial Difference in Perception', in *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. IV, 1933, pp. 330-9.

[2] Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead, *The Balinese Character*, p. 84.

[3] For typical examples of story completion and Rorschach responses, see appendices.

As to free drawings, the writer has on two occasions asked pupils in the compulsory school to draw whatever they wanted to, and the following is a list of the subjects drawn: oranges, girls carrying baskets on their heads, a boy tending sheep, a car and a palm tree, a boy riding a donkey and a car behind him, a girl feeding a chicken, fish, a car with people gathered around it, palm tree and water, two boys racing on donkey back, ducks, a house, a trader selling sugar to a girl, lemons, bananas and oranges, a man cutting sugar-cane, a boy climbing a palm tree, a girl beating a tambourine, a ceremonial procession near the mosque, a farewell procession for a pilgrim.

When I asked some of the children about their drawings, none of them told me of any plot in the drawing. They were purely representative of things and concrete events. The children's drawings were characterised by the almost entire absence of 'landscape' in

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APPENDIX I

I had to leave and concentrate on memorizing the Koran. After one year I finished the Koran and recited it for my Sheikh Ahmad Mousa to his satisfaction.[1] Then my father offered a "Karama" in the Kuttab, consisting of a meal of wheat bread and meat eaten in the Kuttab by the boys and whoever is present (as one is not supposed to invite persons for a "karama") together with a gift of a white garment to the Sheikh. This was followed by a ceremony called "dorah" (classical "dawrah") going round the village, with sheikhs reciting odes (qasidas) in praise of the Prophet, beating the drum and the tambourine (tar), and followed by other local folk as well as the Kuttab children. On this occasion I wore white clothes; this is a holy practice like that of pilgrims returning from Mecca, who also don white clothes.[2] After this, I stayed in the Kuttab as an "Areef-prefect", repeating the Koran three times during the first year, at the end of which I sat for an examination (oral) set by one of the Ministry of Education inspectors, and on passing it I received a prize of £E2. I remained as an "areef" for three years, teaching the other children, learning the "Munawi mawled"—a rhyming prose as well as poems on the birth of the Prophet, the "matn-al-Ishmawi"—in the Islamic law (Fikh), "Matn al Jawhara" in monotheistic theology (Tawheed), which is in poem form. From the age of nine I had to help my father and older brother in farm work, but I was not pressed to work as my family wished me to devote myself to Koranic studies, and this is one of the things that distinguished me from many other boys in the village. But later in life, especially after my marriage, I had to work harder in the fields. My older brother was responsible for bringing fertilizer from the hill, while my father and myself helped in the other farm tasks such as irrigation, distribution of manure, and harvesting.

'In 1940 I went to Edfu, where the first stage of military conscription examinations takes place, and I was exempted on the basis of my knowing the Koran, after I had succeeded in the oral examination held for the purpose.[3]

'A year before I was called up for conscription, I left the Kuttab and devoted myself to farm work, and I got married when I was nineteen years old. I worked on my father's land until 1944, when I was appointed as a malaria supervisor to distribute tablets of quinine to the families during the malaria epidemic. For this purpose I had to make a survey of the population in the village to distribute the tablets, accordingly asking the

[1] A memory task of some magnitude: the Koranic text is a little longer than that of the New Testament.

[2] Wearing of white clothes on certain occasions is a symbol of ceremonial cleanliness and purity.

[3] Till 1948, sons of village omdas and sheikhs, those who paid £E20 exemption fee, those who knew the Koran by heart and University students could be exempted from military conscription. Since then a law has been passed decreeing that military conscription is universal, with very few exemptions, e.g. the single supporter of a family in the case of the father's death.

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administered only to eighty-five boys and girls chosen from each of the three grades in alphabetical order, as the administering of this test takes a relatively longer time.

The following table represents the frequency distribution of the intelligent quotient of the thirty-one boys and girls according to their scores in the Kabbani test.

I.Q.	*Frequency*		
	boys	girls	total
30–39	2	4	6
40–49	1	1	2
50–59	6	3	9
60–69	3	4	7
70–79	2	4	6
80–89	1	0	1

The frequency distributions for the Porteus Maze and for the Pass-along tests are:

PORTEUS MAZE

I.Q.	*Frequency*		
	boys	girls	total
30–39	1	0	1
40–49	0	0	0
50–59	3	6	9
60–69	10	19	29
70–79	14	21	35
80–89	16	12	28
90–99	7	2	9
100–109	10	1	11
110–119	1	2	3
120–129	1	0	1
130–139	1	0	1

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PASS-ALONG

I.Q.	*Frequency*		
	boys	girls	total
30–39	1	3	4
40–49	0	1	1
50–59	0	2	2
60–69	0	8	8
70–79	3	8	11
80–89	1	9	10
90–99	11	2	13
100–109	11	10	21
110–119	8	3	11
120–129	2	1	3
130–139	1	0	1

For the results of test I the following remarks may be made concerning the interpretive significance of its scores.

1. As far as this small group of thirty-one boys and girls (with an average chronological age of eleven years eight months for boys, and eleven years four months for girls) is concerned, the results fall below the average norm of intelligence compared with urban children on whom the test was standardized.

2. The distribution in the sample, however, roughly follows the normal distribution.

3. Comparing boys and girls, the latter tend to have slightly higher scores on the whole than the boys.

For the results of tests II and III one notes that:

1. Unless the sample of test I happens to be of low intelligence (an assumption for which there is no apparent justification except the small number) tests II and III appear to be better tests than test I. In these tests children, including the sample in test I, have scored average and even superior I.Q.s. In test III, especially in the case of boys, the curve shows a skew towards the superior I.Q. tendency.

3. Boys on the whole have better scores in these performance tests than girls. In the Porteus Maze test only three girls out of sixty-three are above the average (100), while thirteen boys out of sixty-four fall above the average. In the Pass-along test the area representing boys of average or above average I.Q. is larger than that of the girls.

It is to be noted here that one of the boys who is mentally deficient and could not handle the test problems of the performance tests at all, is called Shaikh' (saint) by the rest of the school children. Among the adults there

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Among the adults there

are in the village four people who may be considered by psychologists as insane or mentally deficient but are regarded as possessing a 'saintly touch'. However, the use of these three types of intelligence tests tends to indicate, apart from the difficulty of sampling, that the children have an intelligence of the practical type. The nature of the performance tests is perhaps nearer to the problems of their serious activities of everyday life. On the whole they scored better in Pass-along than Porteus.

It is worth mentioning that some of the children who came out well in the performance tests did very badly with the verbal test, and this could be attributed to the unfamiliarity of the children with the intellectual items of the latter. Apart from the mathematical items, this unfamiliarity could be demonstrated by item 8, Section 1. In it, the child is asked: 'If you want to give your mother a present what will you choose: a skipping rope, a toy, a silk stocking or a bicycle?' Although the obvious answer according to the test is 'silk stocking', which some children gave, others gave 'a skipping rope' or 'a bicycle' while none chose a toy. On asking a boy why he chose a bicycle, he answered that after giving it to his mother he would take it back for himself. Some of those who chose the rope thought that it was a useful thing for mother as she 'would hang the washing on it'. The difference of value-attitudes implied in such items and their influence on answers given, is similar to that classical example given by Klineberg with regard to one of the items of the 'National Intelligence Test' which was administered to some children of an Indian tribe. In this item the subject is presented with the words: crowd, closeness, danger, dust, excitement, number, and is asked to underline only two words which are the necessary characteristics of the crowd. Although 'closeness and number' are the correct answers according to the key of the test, yet many of the Indian children underlined danger and dust and in other cases excitement. According to their own logic and experience these answers seem to be the right ones.[1]

In our case the results of testing by a verbal test brings out the validity of applying tests standardized for urban children to rural children. By no means all the children who te[illegible] the Kabbani test are mentally deficient, but the test itself is overweighted with items that are more suitable to city children, and may fail to sample adequately those abilities in which the rural children excel. In the United States and Britain studies of urban-rural differences in intelligence have revealed that rural children are neither uniformly nor consistently inferior to urban children on all tests.[2] Our small-scale testing tends to confirm the conclusion that while rural children score low in tests of abstract intelligence, they may excel in tests of the mechanical or practical type.

Although doubts could be cast on the quantitative results of tests that are not standardized for a particular community, such tests could be used

[1] Otto Klineberg, *Race and Psychology*, Unesco, Paris, 1951, p. 11.
[2] A. Anastasi and J. Foley, *Differential Psychology*, New York, 1949, pp. 825–7.

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●153 as instruments of differential qualitative analysis. Nadel expressed the view that intelligence tests 'in their specific adjustment to cultural groups would already reflect specific qualitative factors of culture, and culturally determined forms of intelligence'. Such an approach would not be so much concerned with assessing degrees of intelligence, as 'analysing types and qualities of intelligence'.[1] The concrete, matter-of-fact orientation of children's intelligence in Silwa did not only exhibit itself in the relatively better performance in the Pass-along test, but was also revealed in the ease in which their attention was engaged in the performance tests compared with the verbal one. Moreover, in the case of performance tests some boys and girls after getting stuck at some point in the testing asked me whether they could bring an older boy or girl who could help them or who could 'solve it better for me'. This attitude seems to be a reflection of the cultural pattern in which an older person is supposed to know better and hence should be consulted. [56]

It has become increasingly evident that experience in different cultures and even different socio-economic groups in one culture, may lead to basically different perceptual responses and lend different meanings to a similar test situation. Moreover, one cannot ignore the importance of cultural motivation in assessing test results and interpreting numbers and scores.

Japanese children have been found to excel American children significantly in tests involving sustained attention, visual perception or spatial orientation, while falling behind on verbal and arithmetic tests. It is also reported that Chinese groups excelled the Japanese in the Binet type of tests and in auditory memory span, while they scored lower in the Porteus Maze and in all performance and mechanical aptitude tests.[2]

[1] S. F. Nadel, 'The Application of Intelligence Tests in the Anthropological Field', in *The Study of Society*, p. 197.

[2] Anastasi and Foley, op. cit., pp. 739–40. For the effect of cultural values on intelligence and other psychological tests, see Klineberg, op. cit. See also M. Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, where she mentions that the aesthetic interest of children in Samoa overshadowed the task of solving the test problems.